

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 650

December 10th, 1948

THREE PENCE

VATICAN PLEA FOR PEACE

THE Vatican has come out in favour of reconciliation between Russia and the West.

This is something new. Hitherto the Vatican has been strongly opposed to Russia; it was one of the most powerful agents behind Franco's attack on the Spanish Left; it persistently collaborated with Fascists in their efforts to thwart Marxism. Social Democrats who used to be sympathetic towards Russian Communism, have come to say in the past two years precisely what the Roman Catholic hierarchy has been saying for thirty years. Now it appears that the Vatican has decided to "recogn-

COMMENTARY

by

MAURICE CRANSTON

"Communism in the sense that it has resigned itself to the existence of Communist governments throughout Eastern Europe and Asia.

Such a policy is not wholly out of keeping with the Vatican's traditions. Rome has always had to find some way of living side by side with the governments of the day. Until the Renaissance, Rome had for centuries the upper-hand in that partnership. Today the Vatican is aware that the best it can hope for in most countries—Portugal and Eire are the exceptions—is a mutual tolerance between itself and the secular power.

When Mr. Marshall visited Rome, it was known that he urged upon the Pope a policy of Western European military union against Communism. The Pope gave it as his opinion that Italy should accept no such commitments. He wanted Italy to remain neutral. A similar policy was proclaimed last week by the President of Switzerland (News Chronicle Nov. 30), when he declared that his country would enter military and political arrangements with nobody.

Rejected by Italy

THE Italian Government, however, does not seem to share the Pope's opinion that its foreign policy should be analogous to that of Switzerland. Mr. Marshall had more success with Count Sforza, the Americanised Italian statesman, than he had at the Vatican. The Count is eager for Italy to enter a Western European Union, and thus finally to end her status as

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Commons and Clergy Debate Conscription

WILL MILITARISM DEFEND DEMOCRACY?

IN the torrent of parliamentary oratory released by the second reading of the National Service (Amendment) Bill in the Commons last week, four speeches were outstanding: those of Mr. McGovern and Brigadier Prior-Palmer, in defence of the Bill; and those of Mr. Rhys Davies and Mr. Victor Yates, in opposition.

"There is a true and a fake line of opposition to this policy," Mr. McGovern declared: the "true" line being that of the pacifists who opposed, not the extension of the period of military training, but military training itself; the "fake," that of the Communists and fellow-travellers who desired only a weakening of this country's defences.

Brigadier Prior-Palmer made the same point. "Are they suggesting," he asked of his opponents, "that we should have no army, or an inefficient army?"

BECAUSE OF FEAR

Both these men made clear their hatred of war; but both were convinced that the democratic achievements of this country were worth defending. "If the people of Russia were able to speak their own minds in this matter," said the Conservative, "they, too, would say that there should never again be war. Unfortunately, they are forbidden to do so, as are many of Russia's satellites in Eastern Europe. It is the fear that those conditions might be imposed on this country that makes me support the Bill."

Explaining his change-over from opposition to support of conscription, since the advent of the Labour Government, the Socialist reached the same conclusion: "We must make up our minds whether what we stand for—the democratic State—is worth defending, or whether we have a right to hand it over to any totalitarian Government that comes along."

THE ONLY DANGER?

Nobody will dispute the logic or sincerity of Brig. Prior-Palmer or of Mr. McGovern. But does the only danger of totalitarianism come from abroad? And is violence the way to overcome that danger? These were the questions forcibly put by the two pacifist speakers.

"A few weeks ago," Mr. Davies recalled, "I said in this House that once we agreed to 12 months the proposal would be made in due course to increase the period to 18 months. Once we pass this Bill, if there is another change in the generals at the War Office, we shall be asked a few months hence to increase the period to two years, and then to three years, so that in the end, as in Mussolini's Italy, almost everybody will be put in military clothes."

"The hon. Member for Shettleston (Mr. McGovern) says that as we have a Socialist State we must defend it. Let me tell him that if Socialism requires the support of guns and bayonets, then Socialism will fail. I say more, if Socialism cannot live without bayonets, Socialism does not deserve to live."

He recalled how conscription had rotted nations in the past—Italy, France, Germany—"and, if one reads what transpired in another place the other day in a debate initiated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, one

would begin to think that the rot is setting in in this country also."

Mr. Yates reinforced this with a quotation from the Headmaster of Shrewsbury, exposing the demoralising effects of conscription on boys of eighteen. "But what can we expect from the military authorities?" he asked. "I say, with all due sense of responsibility, that I have read very carefully the remarks of Lord Montgomery and I believe that never since the passing of Hitler and Mussolini from the world scene have we seen the ideals of militarism more blatantly proclaimed."

Lord Montgomery, in his Press conference, spoke out what he believes to be the ideal of National Service—his conception of militarism from the cradle to the grave. He said: "I hold strongly that the man is still the first weapon of war, and to get success in battle the first thing is to get men who have morale, with the light of battle in their eyes, and who are trained to fight and kill." At this there were cries of "Hear, hear" in the House.

"Hon. Members say 'Hear, hear,'" Mr. Yates resumed, "but if it had been a Russian general they would have said something altogether different—or if anybody else

had said it. And indeed the American General Charles Scott is reported to have said: 'We have got to teach these men to kill without compunction, and, if possible, get a little fun out of it. This is a killing game.' It seems to be a sort of military conception."

WHERE STANDS THE CHURCH?

"Where are all the Churches in this matter? Where are the Christian Socialists? Have they no contribution to make? I would say to my hon. Friends on this side that as sure as night follows day we shall regret the action which we have taken."

Repeatedly interrupted, and charged with mocking at gallant soldiers, Mr. Yates replied that he had himself lost two brothers in the first World War and had no desire to cast any reflection on any soldier, whether in a high or lowly position. But he believed such training to be utterly wrong—and will any one dare to dispute it? Will anyone seriously maintain that democracy is not endangered from within by the systematic indoctrination of successive generations with these ideals and ethics?

If so, he did not dare in the House last week. When the Members voted, by 338 to 51 (though with many abstentions) for the extension of military conscription, the "true line of opposition" had been evaded; it had not been met.

F.A.L.

DISASTROUS EFFECT ON EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLDS

"I have all the evidence I want"

—Canon Raven to Archbishop

"My last year's experience at Cambridge has proved to me beyond doubt that sending an ordinary youngster at the age of 18 into occupied Germany is just devilry and absolutely corrupting."

WITH these words, Dr. Charles Raven, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and a member of the Peace Pledge Union, last week challenged a statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury that there was no cause for anxiety as to the morals of boys conscripted into the British Army of Occupation.

The Archbishop's statement had been made at a Press conference, following a tour of the British Zone lasting just twelve days. It coincided with the motion in the House of Commons to extend the period of conscription from twelve to eighteen months: one reason for which was to enable conscripts to spend more of their training in British-occupied countries.

It was, the Archbishop said, his considered opinion that boys got a better training in the Forces than if they "just sloped into a factory, being left to look after themselves."

He did not suggest that the Church was neglecting an obvious duty if young men entering factories were left without care or guidance. He did not ask whether these were the only alternatives before a boy of eighteen—or whether, if they were, it was not high time something was done about it.

"I am closer to the younger generation than Dr. Fisher," said Canon Raven, "and I do not accept his statements."

"I have had many consultations with college tutors on the effects to new students of a year's conscription

in Germany. To this I attribute many recent troubles which have occurred.

"I have all the evidence I want of the disastrous effects of sending boys of 18 to a country where conditions are so insecure, where on the black market a packet of cigarettes can buy you anything you want. Although I do not wish to offend the Archbishop, I stand by everything I said. The whole matter is a disgrace which should be stopped."

He was speaking at Newport School, Essex, and his concluding words were an appeal to parents and teachers to keep their boys at school until 18:

WASTED YEARS

"If you waste the two most precious years of a boy's life by taking him away from school at 16 and then, when he is sent into the Army of Occupation he does not stand up to the enormous difficulties and temptations of that particular duty, it will be entirely your fault."

"I am not suggesting that a disciplined life of National Service may not be wholly admirable; I am suggesting that we should do our level best to see that youths of 18 are not exposed to that particular form of National Service."

The News Chronicle gave front-page publicity to this appeal on Dec. 3, and Canon Raven's views were quoted in the Commons last Monday.

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LYSENKO-ISM

WHEN Prof. Haldane states, as he does repeatedly, that he is not prepared to pass judgment on Lysenko's theories without having studied the documents in the case, he is on strong ground—much stronger than he occupied when dismissing the theories of heredity promulgated by Nazi scientists. Nothing could be more unscientific than a refusal to sift evidence carefully before adopting an hypothesis.

But the main issue of the Lysenko dispute is not a technical one at all, but a moral, upon which Prof. Haldane is no better qualified to give an opinion than a priest (unless he be as versatile as Mendel) is qualified to give an opinion on genetics. It is a pity that this was not made clearer in the broadcast discussion last week.

The main question is this: whether a scientist is to remain free to put forward his views even when they have been rejected by a majority of his colleagues. Long after most British biologists had accepted a neo-Darwinian theory of evolution, Prof. McBride used to adduce evidence in favour of a neo-Lamarckian; and it has been generally accepted by scientists for the last three centuries that progress depends on this right of a minority to submit its views to discussion.

The relation between this principle and that of democracy is clear. Democracy likewise presupposes a general agreement to respect minority-views, and to allow them the utmost freedom of expression compatible with the security of the society upon which that freedom depends. The two principles are, in fact, twins. The year that saw the birth of the Royal Society (with which Moscow Academy has now broken off its long correspondence) saw also the beginnings of the Party system in England. Both were the offspring of one parent—the Protestant Reformation.

In the realm of theology, "queen of the sciences," the Roman Catholic Church has always maintained that free discussion is admissible and indeed desirable, until such time as the supreme authority—formerly the Council, now the Pope—pronounces a decision *ex cathedra*: but thereafter controversy is closed, and any divergent opinion is banned as heretical. It was this tradition that the Reformers challenged, and it was thanks to their challenge that the contrary principle, of interminable freedom of discussion, was extended, first to the scientific and later to the political realms.

In the political realm that freedom has now been suspended by the totalitarian States. Soviet Russia was the first, and ever since its foundation, the Communist Party has adopted the same principle as the Catholic Church. Discussion is permitted, but only until such time as the Politbureau pronounces its ruling thereafter any deviation from the Party Line carries with it the penalty of excommunication.

Scientific freedom, accordingly, has always been an anomaly in totalitarian States. It belonged to the effete world of "bourgeois" values; it could only be tolerated by a tacit admission that not all values were race-values or class-values. Hitler realised that, to his ultimate cost.

What makes the Lysenko episode a portent is not the adoption of a false, or rather questionable, hypothesis by a majority of local geneticists—that has happened often enough in all times and places—but the penalisation of the minority which remains unconvinced, or un-cowed.

Sir Henry Dale is mistaken: there is a difference between "bourgeois" and "soviet" science—as real as the difference between "bourgeois" and "popular" democracy. It is the difference between a disinterested quest for truth, and a vested interest in finality.

All is grist....

EARL WINTERTON had some pungent things to say about the Government in the Conscription Debate last week.

Attributing its hesitancy in introducing the eighteen-month period to the fact that "the Government and their supporters contain a greater number of former pacifists and conscientious objectors than any body of similar members anywhere in the country," he traced recent oscillations of policy in the following words:

"However, at long last, after managing to swallow their scruples... they brought in the original conscription Bill. A short time afterwards, as a result of pressure upon them, or as a result of their consciences again becoming acute, they—I think the correct term is regurgitated—they brought up their scruples which they had swallowed, and reduced the period of conscription to 12 months, thereby making no sense of it at all. Today, the period of vomiting being over, they once again come back to the point where they are prepared to swallow their consciences."

"I could enlarge upon that subject. What a fantastic situation it is that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who were not prepared to fight in 1914 are prepared to make others fight by compulsion in 1948. What a situation for the country and the Government."

Fantastic it certainly is, and to others besides Earl Winterton. Oddly enough, this speech was intended as a defence of National Service.

LIKE all good pacifists, I have taken up gardening this year. The result, it must be admitted, has not yet been such as to ease the world food shortage noticeably. The forget-me-not acreage has been extended by several acres, and at least twelve lupins are growing where one grew before; when the fog withdrew from Buckinghamshire last weekend, it was to disclose the tiny green shoots of daffodils. But these experiments have given me such confidence that potatoes

'War Now': a protest

I FIND it difficult to read Maurice Cranston's Commentaries as coming from a pacifist. Not long ago we were invited to estimate "how long before Tito and his friends would be murdered by Stalinists"; on Nov. 26 we were given the impression "that 'War Now' is the best alternative to thorough-going pacifism," and then told that "however reasonable 'War Now' may be, it could not in practice be adopted."

I am constrained to ask: when is an impracticable thing reasonable?

Maurice Cranston blames the moderation of the inter-war years, rather than the war itself and the immoderation of the treaties which followed for the bad results. This offers us a mere replica of Lord Russell, or, an exhibition of impatience which is the negative to pacifism.

G. C. MADDEVER.

Liskeard,

Cornwall.

Exemption of the Clergy...

IT is a splendid suggestion of John Vincent's that the clergy and Free Church ministers should be conscripted for war service.

It would probably cool the ardour of many war-minded parsons, and do more than anything else to help the pacifist cause. The one and only reason why governments have never conscripted the clergy is that their services are so absolutely indispensable at home to help with the war propaganda, and from the pulpits maintain the war morale of the people. The Ministry of Information send out to the clergy week by week piles of literature, setting forth the villainy and alleged evil designs of the enemy, and urging them to lay the information before their congregation. This religious propaganda is as indispensable as the bombs and guns.

Early in 1918, when the Government was getting very short of canon fodder, it did actually propose to

and cauliflowers will surely follow in due season.

Indeed, I am beginning for the first time to realise what satisfaction his own plot of land can bring a man: something quite incomprehensible when I used to labour on other people's farms. How I should hate anybody else laying hands on my rambler roses! Even the well-meant advice of my next-door neighbour stirs a scarcely-concealed resentment. Just as I am relapsing into diligent oblivion, chanting to myself, perhaps,

"Today I think only with scents,
Scents dead leaves yield...."

that benign and knowledgeable face looms up over the garden fence—and the trouble is, that it is nearly always right. But I like to make my own blunders in my own way.

G. K. Chesterton said that the Buckinghamshire gardener was the nearest thing in England to a genuine peasant. Assuredly I can understand now the widespread indignation provoked in Russia by a new tax, which limits the time collective farmers can spend on their private holdings. And the thought consoles me. When the German armies evacuated Russia, half the collective farms in the Ukraine were found to have reverted to peasant proprietors. Mr. Lysenko, like Mr. Murry, thinks that mutations can be produced by a change of environment. It may be so—but I have doubts. At any rate, I am sure it will take a great many generations to convert the peasant-proprietor into a birthright Communist.

I FEEL that, like all other newspapermen, I ought to produce a fog-story. Unfortunately, I am less observant than others—or is it that? At any rate, the only story I know concerns at fellow-journalist, who, as he sat in his office the other day, was suddenly confronted by the Editor.

"Fog-story," boomed the Editor. "But," replied my friend (he had only just entered the profession), "nothing has happened in this neighbourhood." "I said fog-story," came the ominous reply—and with that, so he tells me, he realised the nature of his calling, and got busy with pen and ink.

conscript the clergy and ministers for active war service. I prepared then to join the COs who had gone from my church to prison, but the proposal was suddenly dropped.

Unfortunately, the majority of the clergy and ministers still give their sanction and approval to war, but an increasingly large number are now convinced pacifists, and to have a few thousand ministers in prison, or at work on the land as COs would make a profound impression upon the pub-

LETTERS

lic, do much to promote the cause of humanity and brotherhood, revive a moribund Church, and supplant pseudo-religion with religion pure and undefiled, the Christianity of Christ.

(Rev.) EDWIN FOLEY.

38a St. James Road,
Watford, Herts.

...an old superstition

EXEMPTION of the Clergy seems to be a tradition, and I have been puzzled for a long time to find some cogent reason for this singular and favoured treatment. Logically, in a war which the Church has proclaimed as just, the Archbishops and other prominent religious dignitaries should be on a panel of possible appointees for generalship; but man is not a logical animal!

It may be that half-consciously or unconsciously there is a superstitious awe of the person of one ordained for Holy Orders—a taboo which will not permit rough hands to be laid upon him lest the Deity should be offended. It is the duty of the soldier to fight, and of the priest to stay behind to enlist the good offices of whatever gods there be on behalf of the fighters. This may appear to be fantastic, and yet something like this appears to have been the function of the priest in Old Testament times. For example, in Exodus we read "when Moses held up his hand, Israel prevailed, and when

f. s. d.

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And will you look in your pocket and send me any silver and coppers there may be there at midnight on Dec. 31—or in case you might forget, why not do it now? Take care of your pounds and let us take care of your shillings and pence.

MAUDE ROWNTREE.

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This story, has, however, at least the merit of being true—and it is not the one which appeared in his paper.

THE pantomime world must be one of forced gaiety this season. Who will, who can, perform the Widow Twankey, now that Nellie Wallace is no more? But it was time the pantomimes were set on new lines, and perhaps this will be the signal. Too long have those titles, "Cinderella," "Mother Goose," "Where the Rainbow Ends," served fathers and uncles as a pretext for enjoying the topical allusions and perennial sights of the stage. What about throwing in something for the children now?

LAST autumn, Messrs. Hamish Hamilton, the publishers, organised a nation-wide competition among booksellers for the best window-display of their Novel Library. The prize of £20, it was announced last week, has been awarded to the PPU Bookshop, Housman's, in Shaftesbury Avenue. A photograph of the display, which was on view during October, will be appearing in The Bookseller shortly.

The Miller

he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed."

War is an "all-out" effort and nothing must be neglected to ensure victory. The mysterious spiritual forces might be decisive, and their earthly representatives must therefore be treated with some degree of delicacy and respect. War is barbarous, and barbarians have their superstitions. . . . Better to keep your fingers crossed in case!

L. H. WESTLAKE.

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THE HOPI INDIANS

By Edward C. M. Richards

QUAKERS, Mennonites, and Brethren are familiar names to those who have read about American conscientious objectors. Less well known are those COs described as Hopi Indians. "There is one man in the States who can tell you about the Hopis, he knows them well," said a recent American visitor to Peace News office, "Edward C. M. Richards, of West Chester, Pennsylvania." Edward Richards is joint treasurer of the War Resisters' International, a CO of World War I and one of the few white Americans who number Hopi Indians among their close personal friends.

YEARs before there was any settlement of white men on the Atlantic coast of North America, the Spanish Conquistadors under Coronado came up from Mexico in search of gold.

About the first human beings that they encountered were the Pueblo Indians who made their living through permanent farming and who dwelt along the Rio Grande River in the Southwest. The most westerly of these Pueblo Indians were the Hopis, who shortly afterwards migrated even further west to their present location in north-central Arizona.

DESERT LAND

There the environment was, and is, so severe, the water supply so low, the winters so cold, and the summers so hot, that it seems impossible that anyone could wrest a living from the country. Just to drive through it in a car seems an adventure, because for scores of miles one sees no water, no trees, no habitations. Perhaps a wandering flock of sheep, herded by a Navaho Indian, will be the only sign of human life and activity encountered in half a day's run. And then one comes to a Hopi town, built on the very edge of the flat mesa top overlooking the vast desert range which stretches to the horizon toward the south.

The houses are small, rectangular stone structures with flat roofs, containing only one or two rooms. Adobe mud is often used for mortar and frequently the only visible materials which would have to be imported from outside of the Reservation would be the glass windows and the iron hinges and nails. Everything else gives evidence of being a product of the desolate region round about.

Piles of juniper wood used for fuel, and tall crudely made ladders of round poplar poles, giving access to the flat rooftops, illustrate the hard work necessary to enable people to live in this desert region. This is because all such wood must be cut many miles away and hauled with endless patience to the town.

The handicraft aspect of Hopi life is shown by the chimneys sticking up prominently from the roofs. These chimneys are made by piling pottery jars, one on top of another, and breaking out the bottoms so as to allow the smoke to pass upward through them. Scattered within a short walking distance of the town in small canyons where a little moisture collects, tiny cornfields, fruit orchards and vegetable gardens are to be seen.

AN INNER PEACE

When, however, one meets and talks with the Hopi men, women and children, an entirely new and surprising element enters. For these short, stocky, strongly muscled Indians have a striking spiritual exuberance and light which shows in their faces. The men often have strong, yet unworried expressions, while many of the girls' and women's features shine with an inner peace and poise which separates them in a striking way from most white people or other Indians.

The Navahos live all round the Hopis in the same environment. But there is no such spiritual beauty among them as is practically universal among the latter.

This marked difference raises the question: "What causes this Hopi beauty of soul?" Why is it (to quote from "The Hopi Way," a psychological study of Hopi civilization) that "the Hopi today stands out among the 360,000 Indians in the United

States proper as the tribe which probably has been least affected in its basic culture by modern civilization?" (The Hopis have known the white man since 1540 AD, which is as long or longer than any other Indian tribe).

The answer lies in two directions. First, the Hopi nation, totalling only about 3,200 souls, is knit together in practically every aspect of life by systematic, organised, personal and group discipline along peaceful lines. HOPI, in this peoples' language, means PEACEFUL, and all of life is oriented toward peace and away from war and violence.

This orientation is striking to a visitor from the outside, whiteman's world. The Hopis do not strive to produce anything for sale—either to each other or to the surrounding Navahos or to the whiteman. Their food products are for themselves and for their fellow Hopis. No effort is made to encourage tourists.

In fact, instead of capitalising upon visitors, Hopis are strongly opposed to having photographs taken of themselves or their homes, and very especially of their religious ceremonies and dances. The competitive spirit, the drive to rise above one's neighbours, and to take advantage of or to exploit others, is definitely frowned upon.

On the other hand, the community spirit, consideration for the welfare of others and of the tribe is held up as

an ideal to Hopi children from babyhood. In particular all tendencies toward bullying or fighting are deliberately played down. With this goes a highly developed system of social participation by everybody in tribal celebrations, ceremonials and dances.

While not Christians, the Hopis are deeply religious in their belief in a Great Spirit who is over all, and in the working out of moral cause and effect, both in this life and in the life after death. Good actions will result in good and evil actions will result in evil: this is the Hopi's firm conviction.

Such social controls develop Hopi children's consciences by fixing in their minds the idea that trickery, violence, disregard of others, are wrong and must be avoided, while honest, hard, constructive work, directed toward socially valuable ends is right and is what should be striven for. "The Hopi Way" puts it thus: "Here we are getting to the very heart of the problem of how a society may function when oriented toward peace rather than war, and how the individuals within such a society may develop personalities which are not openly aggressive—all of which is a crucial factor not only in successful survival (there are more Hopis alive today than ever before) in spite of an exceedingly vulnerable position in a highly hazardous environment, but also in the development of a culture so rich and rewarding, so exciting and

A nineteen-year-old's call to pacifists—

THE world is dying through war. Humanitarianism, international friendship and goodwill are no longer enough. In these last desperate stages of a disease which threatens the very existence of mankind our goodwill must be transformed and irradiated by wisdom.

As a very young pacifist I cannot help seeing that the good people are, on the whole, not so very wise, and that the people with knowledge are often not very good. Need the people of goodwill be helpless in the path of a rush towards destruction compared to which that of the Gadarene swine is nothing? Why is our pacifism so impotent and, most serious of all, why are some of us resigned to the fact that it is? With all our being let us protest against this deadly resignation and let us struggle to build up a pacifism noble in its wisdom and its love.

As in all societies, we have our arm-chair adherents who, I firmly believe, do more harm to the cause than our firmest opponents. Stagnation in the world of today is a crime. Some there are who fancy themselves holding a lonely candle in the night, but are they sure that this light of their solitariness is still burning? These candle-flames must become a great beacon on a hill-top in the night of the world's chaos; a sign of undying faith in man, and a promise of deliverance. That is why it is essential to band together, gaining strength one from the other, and that is why the Peace Pledge Union and other peace organisations are necessary for the corporate life of pacifism.

GOODWILL NOT ENOUGH

General goodwill and talk of peace will not prevent the next war. Wars are not stopped by our refusal to kill. Wars are not stopped by feelings of goodness and love, unless they are given a practical channel of expression within the field of the political life of the world.

Wars are certainly not stopped by making friends in other countries. We have too short a time, and the clocks are ticking on.

All these things are necessary, but

alone they are powerless. Wars can only be stopped by digging down deep into the causes of conflict between nations and rooting them out. Every pacifist should train his mind to study the causes of war with as much precision of thought as is necessary for the scientist in his laboratory.

Pacifism has not the faintest chance of success in this world unless we struggle to remove the causes of war, unless we know what it is that we are trying to combat. The greatest curse of our age is that of national sovereignty, that is, the right of each nation to be a law unto itself. To work for a World Federal Government, to struggle to help in

WORK TO SECURE WORLD GOVERNMENT

creating a supra-national authority, is an essential and integral part of my pacifism. It is no substitute for pacifism, but it is the only system under which our faith will ever be able to grow and flourish.

PACIFISM MUST FUNCTION

To those who are less worldly than I am, to those who speak of "the ultimate victory," the victory won only by suffering and death, that which few will be alive to experience amid the smoking ruins of the world after the next war, I would say that this is fundamentally a terrible admission of failure. Pacifism must be able to function in the world which seems ready to the vast majority of us, and if it is incapable of doing so, and shifts into a mystic, cloudy fairyland, it cannot be the answer to our problems, and those of us who are young, and who long for life, will have been deceived.

We want peace here and now, in this life—on this earth. We can never have peace till the world is one and the world cannot be one till we have a World Government. At one time different parts of England were warring against each other. Federation has already proved successful in the USA and in Switzerland, with peoples of varying races, creeds, languages and nationalities. It is now time for the principle of federation to spread

CONVICTION

Our conviction is that Christianity has this to say to the World: "Your reliance upon armaments is both wrong and futile. Armaments are the weapons of organised violence and outrage. Their use is a denial of the true laws of good living. They involve the perpetuation of strife. They stand in the way of the true fellowship of men. They impoverish the peoples. They tempt men to evil, and they breed suspicion and fear and the tragic consequence thereof. They are not therefore legitimate weapons in the Christian armoury, nor are they sources of security."

—Report of Commission II, Conference of all Friends, 1920.

absorbing, that the outside world offers no adequate substitute."

Second, as a natural sequence to the above, the Hopi does what any honest, sincere, strong, personality would do. He abhors the evil that he sees in the outside world and quietly but adamantly takes his stand against it. Amply supported by the peace and quiet happiness of his own culture, he takes the conscientious objector position against what he sees is evil and wrong in the non-Hopi world about him. Being a religiously minded objector to war, he goes much further, and definitely strives to have no hand in the evils which he recognises quite clearly lead to war. The results are astonishing.

Hopi villages have no jails because there is no crime. There are no half-breed Hopis, because the white man's sex attitude does not measure up to Hopi principles.

It has been my privilege to visit the Hopis and to count some of them among my personal and admired friends. The charm and beauty of their girls and women, the steady strength and courage of their men, are a real inspiration toward peaceful living for which I am deeply thankful.

over the world. The idea of the nation-state, its complete autonomy and its control of weapons of destruction, is completely out-of-date. The day of futile pacts of friendship, treaties and leagues is gone.

The time has come for us to federate and to fulfil the visions of poets and prophets who have dreamed of this world which we shall build, yet have not had the wonderful opportunities that we now possess.

To those who have struggled and died in the faith we owe a great deal, and for their sake, and for the sake of those who shall come after us, we cannot allow ourselves to fail.

HANNAH TORR.

"Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of or PPU connexion with the matter advertised."

Big-business interests endangering peace are exposed in

THE PALESTINE MYSTERY

by Arthur Rogers

2s.

From Peace News, 3, Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.; Housman's Bookshop, 124A Shaftesbury Ave., W.1.; Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

International Voluntary Service For Peace

A HISTORY

EDITED BY
ETHELWYN BEST
and
BERNARD PIKE

(George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.).

Illustrated 8s. 6d. net

Send them greetings: THEY WILL BE IN PRISON OR DETENTION CAMP THIS CHRISTMAS

GRACE BEATON, Secretary of the War Resisters' International writes:

"In several countries there are fellow pacifists who will be spending Christmas and the New Year in prison. It is the normal practice of members of the International to demonstrate solidarity by sending Christmas greetings and we should like as many friends as possible to send cards this year.

"On the list below will be found the names of individual pacifist prisoners grouped under their respective countries as well as the locations of alternative service camps where groups of pacifists are living. Unless it is otherwise stated on the list, it is essential that no other greetings than a postcard should be sent. This is a normal prison regulation."

Printed rate postage to foreign countries is 4d. for 20cs.

GREAT BRITAIN

At H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, London, W.12: Peter Eric Green, Jeremy Hunt, Sidney Arthur Frye, Christopher John Watt, D. Kaufman and Michael Ingram Hill. At H.M. Prison, Edinburgh, Scotland: Maxwell Collins, No. 1736/48.

HOLLAND

Wim Akkermans, Len Haag, Jan van Goyenstraat 23.

Henk Ruhof, Enschede, Dahlstraat 81. Martinus Wolters, Groningen, Irlaan 70b. Koos van der Waals, Den Haag, de la Reyweg 69.

Wouter Timmer, Aalsmeer, Wilgenlaan 10. Hendrikus Brink, Groningen, Bedumerstraat 183a.

Marten Bijma, Boelenslaan 13 (Fr.). Jacob Fijnheer, Winkel Dorpsstraat A 233.

Jacob Frenk, Odoorn E 185.

Willem Jonkers, Beilen Beilerwaard F 30.

Jan Bron, Lievevrouwenparochie 217 (Fr.). Cor Brouwer, Oosthuizen.

Paul Schreuders, Amsterdam-N., Mosveld 59 I.

Jan Wardenaar, Schagen, Laagzijde B 85.

Harmen Bron, Terwispe 283a (Fr.).

Jacob Koopen, Hoorn, Drieboomlaan 4.

Kees Tilstra, Langewag 391 (Fr.).

Joop Vogt, Zwolle, Wipstikkerlaan 74.

Arie Volkers, Heerhugowaard G 267.

Dick van der Woude, Haulerwijk 183 (Fr.).

Adriaan van den Heuvel, Den Haag, Pasteurstraat 83.

Maarten Jonker, Veendam, Frans Spiekmanstraat 37.

Kees Venema, Groningen, Bedumerweg 119a.

Wieke Houkes, Emmen-Compasium, Westelijke Doorsnee Zuidzijde 13.

Chris van der Schoot, Sappemeer, Molenstraat 21.

D. van den Berg, Zutphen Hooznwerk 35.

Joop Adicks, Rotterdam, Wilgewerd 89.

Adolf Hatzmann, Dwingeloo, J.B. Iaan 479.

Henk Haverkamp, Amsterdam, Dapperstraat 53 I.

Rene Mensink, Amsterdam, Overtoom 138.

Oeds Nijboer, Rotterdam, Oudezijde 138.

Jeep Plantenga, Langewag Jonkersland 321.

Piet van der Schee, Poortugaal, Fr. v.d. Poest Clementlaan 25.

Simon Schra, Amsterdam, Avenhornstraat 13.

Gerrit Spaargaren, Aalsmeer, Uiterweg 360.

Pieter Zegers, Vlaardingen, Nassaulaan 11.

A. Blom, Nieuwe Weerdinge, Tramwijk Z 98.

W. Hendriksen, Tuindorp Oostzaan, Mercuriusstraat 3.

M. Sloter, Rotterdam, Gaasbeekstraat 27.

J. Stuijland, Rotterdam, Doesburgstraat 21.

S. van Weperen, Oosterwolde, Luisterweg 214.

R. Zaai, Amsterdam, Lumeystaat 24 IV.

Rinse Knol, Boornbergum, Veenhoop B 101.

Hans Togetti, Haarlem, Lorenskade 116.

Hans P. De Groot, Soest, Smutsweg 20.

The Dutch addresses given above are in all cases private home addresses, from which messages of greeting can be forwarded. It is not permissible for these prisoners or detainees to receive mail direct. The four Dutch COs below may be written to at their alternative service camps.

Co. Van de Kieft, Kamp Vledder, Keinslweigarskamp.

Erik Mispelblom Beyer, Kamp Geesbrug, Nieuweroord.

Gerrit Gorter, Kamp Zwinderseveld, (bij Coevorden).

Klaas Feenstra, Rijkspsihiatrische Inrichtingen, Woensel (Eindhoven).

FRANCE

Cesar Bugany, Service General Citadelle de Lille, a Lille (Nord).

Henri Rouyer, Prison Militaire Metz.

Andre Schoenauer, Prison Militaire, Metz.

USA

Ralph Cook and Arthur Emery, At Danbury Prison, Danbury, Conn.

DENMARK

Letters or postcards can be sent to a group of 80 conscientious objectors in alternative service camp address: Militaarnaegterne, Militaarnaegterleiren, Maarum st, Denmark.

60 M.P.s Support Greek Peace Move

A DECLARATION urging the appointment of a mediator in Greece was sent to the Prime Minister and the Minister of State over the signatures of a large body of prominent men and women, both inside and outside Parliament, by the Union of Democratic Control, last week. It was rejected.

The following is the text of the declaration which was signed by eighty supporters and passed to the Prime Minister within 72 hours of the first appeal for signatures:

I support a request to His Majesty's Government to propose in the United Nations the sending to Greece of an individual mediator or mediating Commission with a view to securing an armistice in the Civil War and bringing about the formation of a Government in Athens willing and able to reconcile the forces in conflict. This is an opportune time for such a proposal in view of the emergence in Athens of influential support for Dr. Evatt's action in initiating peace talks between Greece and her northern neighbours.

A UDC statement gave these three reasons for taking this step:

1. The civil war shows no signs of reaching an end or providing a solution. Martial law has been extended to the whole country, 500,000 refugees from the villages are crowded into the towns, and mass executions and deportations of political opponents continue to affront the conscience of the world. The ordinary Greek people only desire peace and a chance to live their lives without fear.

2. Many people who have been aware of these facts have felt unable to take any positive action because there appeared to be no alternative to the triumph of reaction or a Communist victory and the incorporation of Greece in the Soviet bloc and they did not desire either of these results. Now there are signs both inside and outside Greece that circumstances are becoming favourable for a new approach on the lines of mediation. A first step has been taken by Dr. Evatt in initiating talks between Greece and her northern neighbours.

These talks cannot be productive as long as the present intransigent mood persists in the countries concerned.

3. If mediation between Greece and her neighbours is to succeed there is an urgent need for mediation inside Greece. This could only succeed if there were influential forces in Greece to whom a mediator could look for support. Today we have evidence that such forces exist.

A number of prominent Greeks have had the courage to welcome publicly Dr. Evatt's move. They are: Dr. P. Argyropoulos, a former foreign Minister; Gen. L. Sakellariopoulos (Liberal) a former Minister of Transport; Mr. Borazanis, (Liberal) a former Minister of National Economy; Mr. A. Kolyvas, Minister of Justice in the Plastiras Government; Mr. N. Asakoutsis, (Socialist) a former Minister of Communications; Mr. G. Kartalis, a former Minister of Supplies; General Manettas, former Minister of War; Professor V. Bonis; and Mr. A. Stratigopoulos, former President of the Athens Lawyers' Union.

These men are in urgent need of our moral and political support. Already one of them Mr. Borazanis, has been physically ejected from Parliament and violently assaulted. The existence of responsible support in this country may well have a restraining influence on the Greek Government.

In addition to sixty M.P.s and others the statement was supported by Professor Norman Bentwich, Sir Montagu Burton, Ritchie Calder, Mrs. B. Duncan Harris, Kingsley Martin, Olaf Stapledon and Leonard Woolf.

BOOK POST TO FRENCH ZONE OPEN

Many Post Offices
do not know

BOOKS may now be sent to the French Zone of Germany by printed matter post. This and other changes in the regulations for the parcel post to Germany are reported in Save Europe Now's Bulletin.

BRITISH, FRENCH & AMERICAN ZONES

Parcels are allowed up to 22lbs. in weight and they are no longer restricted to goods for the relief of human suffering. Any goods, not prohibited for export by the Board of Trade may now be sent except books. Rationed foods and soap up to 7lbs. with packing according to the usual regulations.

Books: There is considerable confusion about the sending of books to Germany and it is important to note that many Post Offices are muddled and give wrong information. It is true that books may not be sent by parcel post. They can be sent, to all three Western zones now, by printed matter post. The limit of weight has been raised to 6lbs. for a number of volumes, or 11lbs. for one book. The ends of the parcel must be left open and it should be marked "printed matter." It would be useful for Committees to contact Post Offices in their areas to see if they are clear about these regulations or possibly to send a letter to the local newspaper, as many people now believe they cannot send books at all. We have taken the matter up in London with the Head Office and with the Foreign Office, German Section, but instructions take a long time to filter down to counter level.

RUSSIAN ZONE

Goods for the relief of human suffering, i.e. clothing, medicines, etc., up to 22lbs. in weight. No books can be sent. The usual 7lb. food parcels may be sent.

Parcels for addresses in the Russian Zone are still going through safely.

BERLIN

No parcels for any German address in any Sector. Parcels for British Army or CCG personnel or to relief teams working there under CCG can still go.

EXPORT RESTRICTIONS

The main items prohibited for export by the Board of Trade are: candles and night-lights; unrationed foodstuffs and unrationed soap; soles and heels wholly or mainly of leather or crepe rubber; woven goods wholly or mainly of cotton, such as, blankets, shawls, rugs, napkins of all kinds, sheets, pillow cases, etc., and yarns or thread wholly or mainly of cotton; postage stamps of philatelic interest; rubber tyres and tubes other than pedal cycle tubes and tyres; seeds, other than flower seeds, exceeding £2 in value; leather, dressed or undressed including scrap and waste; diamonds, precious and semi-precious stones, gold, currency, or securities.

Parcels may not exceed £5 in value.

News in Brief

SWEDES GREET VISITOR BRITAIN IGNORED

THOUGH Bhikshu Nirmalananda, the founder of the Gandhi Mission Society who is now on a world good-will mission and who was a popular figure at the War Resisters' International Conference at Shrewsbury in August, received no public recognition in this country while he was here, he was the subject of news items in Swedish and English language broadcasts for Swedes abroad from Stockholm recently.

The announcer stated that Bhikshu Nirmalananda was leaving for Helsinki and that he had commented to journalists that his greatest regret was that he had been unable to obtain a visa for the Soviet Union, the country he most wished to visit.

Bhikshu Nirmalananda will return to England from Czechoslovakia, it is expected, on Jan. 4, after which date he will be available to speak at meetings in this country. It is understood that he particularly wishes to address pacifist groups.

Victor Gollancz will make a broadcast appeal over the German radio to the German people for donation of money for public and private welfare work amongst vagrant, wayward and delinquent young people on Dec. 12 at 7 p.m.

By Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 25, about 2,500 wagon-loads of food were on the way from farmers of the United States to Europe as a result of a nation-wide campaign by the Christian Rural Overseas Programme (CROP).

About 60,000 adults each year are expected to learn to read and write as the result of a scheme to end illiteracy which, reports Reuter, has recently been launched in Bombay.

France's "Thank you" train will arrive in New York on Tuesday, exactly one year after the "Friendship train" arrived at Le Havre.

The Bishop of London has appealed for a tough young parson for the rocket town of Woomera, South Australia. Of twelve volunteers who have responded, reports the Daily Herald, some are married and unsuitable. The rocket range has been the subject of protests by the Australian Peace Pledge Union. Much material needed for food production is being wasted on this project.

New Zealand's vast potato crop surplus is to be thrown to the pigs, reports the Daily Express. No country will buy it and there are no ships to send it to Europe as a gift.

The first World Citizen, (PN Sept. 24) Henry M. Noel, has been arrested by the French occupation authorities in Baden-Baden. The reason for his arrest is not known. Noel lived for some time in Kassel on German food-rations. He is 27 years of age, was student at Harvard College and last year gave up his American citizenship to become World-citizen. Later on, Garry Davis, son of an American conductor, followed his example.

In spring 1945, John McCloy, as Commander of a U.S. Army unit, had orders to take the famous ancient town of Rothenburg/ob der Tauber (Franconia). There was danger that the town would be totally destroyed. McCloy knew that the ancient buildings and treasures of art might be lost for ever. He succeeded in preventing the threatening destruction and thanks to his intervention, Rothenburg suffered only very little damage. The citizens of Rothenburg remembered thankfully this noble-minded action and offered Mr. McCloy, who has become in the meantime President of the International World Bank, the protectorship of the town. McCloy accepted this honour and promised all possible help for the future.

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MUSIC & DRAMA

Edited by
Roger Page

Two Masses

THE acoustics of Westminster Central Hall deal more kindly with instruments than with voices. After hearing Vaughan Williams' "Riders to the Sea" and Mozart's Coronation Mass (K.317) in the Morley College Concerts Society's performance there on Nov. 26, I should have said that in the Mozart work the singing of the choir had been dull in tone and in attack, whereas the orchestral playing had been bright. Two days later, though, the same choir and orchestra broadcast these same two works in the Third Programme, and in the broadcast Mozart's choral writing came through excellently, as did the voices of the four solo singers in the Benedictus and Agnus Dei.

"Riders to the Sea" supplied once again the element of discriminating novelty that Michael Tippett and his Morley College colleagues work into their programmes. It was so interesting that one paragraph in a notice of modest overall length would be too little, and I shall come back to it in a later issue.

The two works already mentioned were conducted by Walter Goehr. A third item, Byrd's Mass for Five Voices, was to have been directed by Michael Tippett himself, but he being ill his place was taken by John Minchinton. All thanks to him for answering the sudden call. Yet I could wish that the choir had said: "Michael's ill; let's sing the Byrd without a conductor." The more daring course would have been the more interesting test of the choir's ability, since the work is no conductor's showpiece, but exact and restrained liturgical music, for which the assurance and self-discipline of a practised choir should suffice.

In this Mass, Byrd the Englishman is also the spiritual son and musical heir of Rome, speaking her language with his own accent maybe, yet never violating its content. Acoustically the choir, here unaccompanied, sounded well enough in the hall. Visually, though, the Edwardian worldliness and hard light of the setting are not well in focus with such music.

It set Mozart's Mass off more hap-

pily. Happier still would be a theatre in a rococo palace. A pretty fancy of the promoters, so to display in one evening Byrd's sacred and Mozart's profane Catholicism! Mozart brings down the curtain with an Agnus Dei that as a setting of liturgical words is really comical, more like the happy ending of any one of a hundred light operas. The solo soprano, a demure heroine, sings a last tender little song. The other soloists join her in brief approval of her sentiments. Then, at a brisker pace, the chorus, all smiles, break in with a "Dona nobis pacem" that is no suppliant "Grant us Thy peace," but an assertion suggestive of some such doggerel as:

"All troubles forgotten
Contentment we've found.
Our sins are forgiven;
Let sweet peace abound!"

DICK HOLMES.

Ibsen and the Idealist

THE revival of "The Wild Duck" at St. Martin's Theatre should be of interest to all those who feel their mission in life to present to the less enlightened "the claims of the ideal."

It is precisely these claims which Ibsen, more in irony than in bitterness, sets out to refute in this play. He may be likened to the Snake-speare of "Troilus and Cressida" who, with greater savagery, exposed the hollowness of the accepted public virtues. But Ibsen goes one further, and exposes, also the private virtues—the desire to do good, the urge to "put things right." "The Wild Duck" is a repository of phoney missions and blundering missionaries. The good shall be bad—the author seems determined to say—and the bad shall be good.

Gregers Werle ostensibly the hero, wreaks nothing but havoc with his meddlesome "Puritanical fever." His claim of the ideal is not an ideal at all, but an evasion of the truth he cannot face: that happiness is amoral. It is the complacent acceptance of a half-truth by the many that often reveals a greater truth to the few. But Gregers is shocked by his sense of sin; he cannot let ill alone. It is the shock not of revelation, but of recoil. And so he remains eternally the odd man out, whose fate it is "to be thirteenth at table."

An altogether more sympathetic character is the charming rascal, Hjalmar Ekdal, humbug *par excellence* from his first deceptive meekness in company to the superb remorse of his final crocodile tears over the daughter who is sacrificed in the indulgence of his "unspeakable love" for her—but only as his daughter. And yet we can still like him, and feel that in a sense Hedwig deserved her fate.

She should have known daddy better than to imagine he had really gone and left that comfortable home, with the sofa, for planning out the great invention that would one day vindicate their name, and meanwhile a nice bit of sport with grandfather in the attic (Old Ekdal is a wholly delightful character, the immortal potterer); and left that competent,

uneducated wife who kept the business going. Gina has no such fears; she is the only character entirely free from illusion, and the most satisfactory character in the play. She accepts things as they are, Hjalmar included; her almost good-humoured grizzling is quite without rancour (and Fay Compton, I thought, had it exactly right). She accepts too, perhaps more important, her own immorality. And this may be the key to the whole play.

None of us can live, says the cynical Dr. Relling, without our pet delusion, our particular "life-lie" by which we are sustained; therefore we must all invent one, we must have our divine mission, or our big-game hunt in the attic. If we do not, we are doomed to be "thirteenth at table."

These are Gregers' last, disappointed words in the play, but they are not the last words on the subject. There are many life-lies; there is also a life-truth. To expose the sham does not destroy the reality. Otherwise the play would not have been written at all. By the very accuracy of its diagnosis, it provides its own refutation.

MARGARET TIMS.

"An Act of Murder"

"AN Act of Murder," an immaculately-produced and acted American film has been widely referred to as dealing with "mercy killing." While this is true, it seems to me to be equally about human motives and to show a concern for the problem: Is an action to be judged solely on its result and not at all on its intention? Since it discusses this, and the sanctity of human life, it must inevitably be of interest to the readers of this paper. I will not disclose what is the film's message about "mercy-killing," but will point only to the significant fact that it is the kindest and warmest character in the piece—the doctor—who gives the verdict.

Ninety minutes spent watching the film should provoke thought and discussion as well as excitement and interest. (Technical note: Look for the brilliant filming in the maze-of-mirrors scene.) R.P.

Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. A promised note about their visit—sponsored by Christian Action—has not arrived. We hope to include it next month.

Notes for Listeners

DURING the present session of the General Assembly in Paris the United Nations Radio Division is broadcasting news bulletins in English daily (except Sundays) direct from the Palais de Chaillot to listeners in Great Britain, as follows:

Time—GMT	Wavelengths (metres)
6.30—6.45 p.m.	48.39 (short wave)
10.15—10.30 p.m.	247 (medium wave)

Live transmissions of the most important meetings of the day are broadcast daily (except Sundays) as follows:

Time—GMT approx.	Wavelengths (metres)
9.30 a.m.—12.45 p.m.	49.26
2—5 p.m.	41.21
7.40—10 p.m. (if evening session)	48.39

Pacifist Profiles XVIII

PROF. MISSA SADYASU, second Chief of the Foreign Affairs Department at Kyoto, is one of Japan's leading pacifists. Born in 1900, he graduated in Political Economy at the Ritsumei-kan University in 1924, and was soon afterwards appointed Professor of the Ryoyo High School at Kyoto, a post which he has now occupied for over twenty years.

In 1931 he made a trip to Britain and France,



Prof. MISSA SADYASU

partly in order to pursue his researches into foreign religious systems, and partly to visit the headquarters of the War Resisters' International at Enfield. It was there that he took his first European meal with European friends. "We enjoyed his visit immensely," Runham Brown recalls. "This was our first meeting with one of our Japanese members, and Missa Sadyasu opened a new door to the world for us."

Returning home via Formosa in 1933, Prof. Sadyasu was shortly afterwards faced with a major disaster. The city of Kyoto was overwhelmed by an earthquake, and his school completely destroyed. He himself was not at home at the time, but in the fires which broke out many of his students perished.

Renowned as an educationalist, and President of the Fratare Institute, which he helped to establish fifteen years ago, Missa Sadyasu is today closely associated in his work with the Mayor of Hiroshima, Shinzo Hamai, whose appeal to the nations on Peace Day was published in PN (Sept. 10) and has since been circulated in many parts of the world.

"PRO-PEACE" MEETINGS

A series of "Pro-Peace" meetings are being held by the Universal League at The Bourne Methodist Church Hall, Southgate, N.14. Speaker at the next meeting is: Dec. 20. Mr. Eric Sly, Society of Friends: The Way of Conscience. The movement's headquarters in Britain are at 5, Hoppers Road, London, N.13.

Is Peace with Russia Possible?

Dr. ALEX. WOOD

will speak at

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RHYS DAVIES, M.P.
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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. Owing to the increasing pressure on our advertising space we must ask that all copy for displayed insertion should reach us not later than the Thursday morning eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. tube), Sunday Evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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Nazi industrialists back again

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

an ex-enemy country. The British, doubtful of Italy's value as a military and economic factor, are reluctant to accept this suggestion. The French may hold the key to the situation. Franco-Italian customs union is an obvious step towards Western Union in any genuine sense of that word. But with the devaluation of the franc and the growing rush of inflation in France, French economists are hardening against this policy. They argue that even the first steps of the customs union—common tariff levels and the gradual equalising of internal fiscal systems—would involve France in legislation which it is in no state to attempt to carry out at present.

Mockery of Western Union

THE result of such problems is to make a mockery of Western Union at just the time when the Western military Alliance is being crystallised under Field-Marshal Montgomery's leadership. The Americans always wanted a genuine Federal Union in Europe. Mr. Bevin does not. Neither does Switzerland. And neither probably, does Mr. Winston Churchill, though he would surely feel a great satisfaction if there were some sort of European Assembly he could dominate with his own oratory.

Many newspapers employ the term "Western Union" in the Alliance of Western European powers, and thus successfully hoodwink the inattentive reader into thinking that Lord Montgomery's military committee is not merely the custodian, but the very embodiment, of European civilisation. Personally, I think Lord Montgomery's force might serve some useful purpose if it provided a third power to offset the present two-power separation of the world.

No pacifist can approve of any military arrangements, but I should think from the point of view of public safety, that three powers in the world are always better than two, especially when that two comprises the Americans and the Russians.

But has not warfare now reached a point of scientific development at which the field-marshal and the admiral are both otiose? Lord Russell assures us that the Russians have no atom bombs. There are grounds for thinking that they have the instruments of bacteriological warfare, however. The next war may thus be atoms versus germs. Neither atoms nor germs can be seen, let alone told to form fours or go into action.

Lord Montgomery, on his account (if not on General Eisenhower's!) won the last war. I doubt very much if he has the scientific knowledge to win the next. A Western union with a physicist as supreme commander might be a slightly safer place to live in. Or would it? A society that renounced all military and scientific methods of defence and entrusted its security to God is the only sort of society in which I should feel safe, even though I have rather less religious faith than most people.

In Goering's train

IF Mr. Bevin is frustrating the American objective of Western European Union, the Americans are frustrating his objective of a Social Democratic Germany. In America last year, a leading Republican Congressman told me that he and his (Wall Street) colleagues were determined that the industries of the Ruhr should not be put under public ownership, although both the German public and the British Government—in whose Zone the Ruhr lies—were committed to that policy. I could not believe he would succeed, but he has.

The Tribune, the best-informed weekly London paper on the subject of Germany, recently disclosed that eight directors of the United States Steel Corporation accompanied by ERP officials, toured the Ruhr for three weeks in Goering's old special train. The Tribune adds:

"The Military Governors are expected shortly to implement the U.S. Commission's recommendations in a plan providing for re-cartellisation of that part of the steel industry already de-cartellised."

The same journal also reveals a new German "line-up" within the heavy industries and at Frankfurt. Heinrich Kpist, one of Hitler's war economy leaders and former manag-

ing director of Rhein-Preussen, is in charge of provisional coal administration; Wilhelm Zangen is back on the board of Mannesmann; Rohland—a lieutenant to Speer and a former SS man—has returned from internment to the board of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke; Sohl, Schwede, Stinnes, Hermann Reusch, Henne, Pfermenges, and other industrial leaders of Nazi Germany are now preparing the German contribution to the Western war-potential.

The Americans cannot revive the ghost of Hitler to help them fight the Russians; but they are doing their best with his former business bosses.

Czech C.P. cracks the whip

IN the meantime all does not seem to be well in the "New Democracies." The Czech TUC recently published a depressing statement to the effect that the disparity between wages and production must be ironed out, and Mr. Zapotocky, the Prime Minister, who is also Chairman of the Council, reminded workers that increases of wages had consistently outstripped the rise in production (Time and Tide, Dec. 4). Since January 1946, wages had risen by 70 per cent., production only by 50 per cent.

Mr. Zapotocky's "solution" to this problem is the appointment of economic-political committees for every workshop, office or factory with more than 20 workers. These nominated bodies will take over the function of workers' councils which were chosen

WE AGREE

"It is by common consent not a function of the clergy nor of Bishops to act as recruiting sergeants; but all responsible citizens should feel concern that, as yet, the Territorial Army gains so few recruits. Those who have joined up with it are admittedly, for the most part, public-spirited citizens of the best quality."

"We all know the excuses which can be reasonably made against joining—'Had enough of the Army,' 'Too tired these days,' and all the rest. But a nation which is neither pacifist nor willing to man its defences clearly invites disaster."

—The Bishop of Winchester, Winchester Diocesan Leaflet, Dec., 1948.

by the factory workers themselves. It means party rule from top to bottom in Czech industry.

"Under these circumstances," writes Time and Tide, "it is not surprising that the steady trickle across the frontier into the American Zone of Germany continues, despite the uninviting prospect that normally faces political refugees. Since the February coup d'état seven Cabinet Ministers, over fifty MPs, and thirteen generals have escaped from the country. The total number of refugees during this period is believed to exceed twelve thousand. The measures taken to prevent flights from the newest of the New Democracies grows ever more strenuous."

Hanging and penal reform

THANKS to the House of Lords, hanging has been resumed in England, and the struggle for the elimination of capital punishment enters on a new phase. The National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty has been absorbed in the Howard League for Penal Reform. The New Statesman (Dec. 4) makes this comment on the merger:

"It will be a powerful combination, and it is the right moment for it... Mr. Frank Dawtry, who has worked tirelessly for so many years as secretary of the Abolition Society, is a member of the Howard League's Executive Committee, where his experience will be reinforced by bigger propaganda resources and a wider public."

At the time of the historic Debate, when a free vote ended in a majority for abolition, my own chief regret was that Mr. Dawtry was not himself an MP so that he could have given the House the benefit of his knowledge. Some unfortunate remarks were made on the Abolitionist side on that occasion, and it is imperative, if they are to win the next round, that opponents of capital punishment should give more attention to the facts and figures of this problem—and indeed of penal reform generally. I hope that Mr. Dawtry, whose analytic powers are coupled with a rare gift for a "synoptic" appraisal of such matters, will continue to give the movement the unobtrusive leadership he has given in the past.

SCIENTIST WARNS : People's fault if atomic war comes

Sir Richard Gregory, past-president of the British Association and editor of the scientific magazine *Nature*, addressed the National Peace Council's lunch-hour meeting, on Dec. 1, on "The Degradation of Science in War." Sir John Boyd Orr, president of the NPC, was also present and warned the meeting that if war came there would be no means of preventing the use of atomic bombs and bacteriological weapons.

INTRODUCED by the Chairman, Mr. Ritchie Calder, as the man who had fought doggedly to see that science was used to proper ends, Sir Richard spoke of the attitude of scientists to science in the abstract. This was to present science to the community whose duty it was to see that the results were rightly used.

He said that it was not impiety to discover in Nature what was already there and went on to trace the various stages of science from the discovery of fire to the recent atomic discoveries.

Explosives, he pointed out, were necessary for industrial purposes and had been used for industry before their significance as war weapons had been discovered. But whatever happened it was impossible to suppress the discovery of the principles of nature that already exist. This applied throughout history in connection with substances used for war. It was the community, he declared, who had control of all scientific discoveries, and the blame for wrong use fell on the community not on the scientists. If the community had had a moral conscience, the destructive elements in science would never have been used for the extinction of mankind. Scientists also believed that war could be prevented and that we could look forward to making this earth of ours a celestial dwelling place.

WILL YOU SING TO THE BOYS IN GAOL?

THE PPU London Area Organiser is appealing for singers to join a Carol Party which will meet near Wormwood Scrubs Prison on Christmas Eve at about 7.30 p.m. It is necessary for a large party to be formed if the singing is to be heard by the eighteen-year-old boys who will be spending this Christmas in gaol. It is hoped that members of the For, Friends and others will be co-operating. Offers should be sent to the London Area Organiser, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Black Saturday Poster Parade

JAN. 1, 1949, when peacetime conscription becomes operative, is to be observed as Black Saturday.

A big protest meeting is to be held at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W., at 3 p.m. with Rev. A. D. Belden, B.D., Rhys J. Davies, M.P., Emrys Hughes, MP, and R. Morley MP as the speakers. Lord Faringdon will be in the Chair.

It is expected that poster parades will converge on Friends House at 3 p.m. from various points in London, carrying protest posters and distributing leaflets.

PPU members in North and East London will be meeting at 8 p.m. tonight (Friday) at PN Office 3 Blackstock Road, N.4, to plan their January activities. In addition to a Black Saturday Poster Parade they hope to hold other parades to advertise the Central Hall meeting on Jan. 21.

Women's International Peace Campaign

The closing date for the receipt of WIPC Petition forms (PN Nov.5) has been postponed until January owing to the heavy demand for more forms.

The letter sent out inviting membership has been translated in Scandinavian, printed in Canada in the Winnipeg Free Press, and passed on to Radio Lausanne, by a Swiss supporter, with a request for publicity.

The Petition is being circulated in Northern Rhodesia where a group has been formed of keen supporters of the WIPC.

Readers of Peace News are invited to apply to Mrs. Ethel Lewis, the Manse, Brill, Aylesbury, Bucks, for further forms.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

I ATTENDED two functions last Saturday that were nothing to do with campaigning; one was the North London Region Annual Christmas Party and the other was the "Old Lags" Annual Dinner, yet both of these gave me ideas for this column.

At the Christmas party I was asked to say something about the Campaign and I felt a little like the wicked fairy at the feast; spoiling all the fun and games with suggestions of work! I felt this especially because before I spoke a PPU member had said to me, "I suppose you are campaigning with the public—you aren't so foolish as to think you can do anything with PPU Groups, are you?"

Well, the truth is, I am just "as foolish" as that! PPU Groups are made up of individual PPU members; each one will, of course, interpret the pledge in his or her own way, but I know there are many who will interpret it in the way of helping this Campaign.

OLD MEMBERS

I can't get new members to strengthen our Movement and work for our cause without the help of the old members. I wish that every PPU member could have heard Runham Brown in a new role at the "Old Lags" Dinner; he made us laugh until the tears came with his stories of "inside" during the 1914 war, and at the end he brought tears of a different kind to our eyes with his moving plea to us, as pacifists.

He begged us not to consider ourselves virtuous because we had been to prison, for many soldiers had been just as brave; many pacifists in other countries had been much more courageous, facing far greater suffering in the concentration camps of Europe and Asia.

ONE OF THE FEW

But he reminded us that though there was no special virtue in going to prison for a cause in which we believe, there was a very special possibility in being one of the "few" who are standing against the centuries of thought of the "many"—the few who are trying to remove the belief in war so deeply rooted in the whole history of the world.

My own thought after he had spoken was that the world itself is imprisoned by the threat of war, and that perhaps the natural instinct of men and women today to turn away from the atrocious weapons which have been evolved through the use of the method of war, may well be a turning point in the life of mankind, an attempt to escape from that imprisonment.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility of directing that turning away to the pacifist way is our responsibility, and time is not on our side; we cannot afford to shirk it and we cannot put it on to someone else. Some of the jobs to be done may be dull, like addressing envelopes, giving out leaflets or stewarding meetings, but, as Runham Brown showed us, dull jobs can be entertaining and worth while when undertaken with companions in goodwill and with a sense of humour.

There are dull jobs to be done in this Campaign but there are lively ones too, and I want hundreds of volunteers for the Central Hall meeting in London and the Home Counties; if each brings a friend the Hall will be full and overflowing. The date is Friday, Jan. 21—the speakers will be Vera Brittain, Laurence Housman, Michael Tippett, Mabel Ridealgh, MP, and Emrys Hughes, MP, with Stuart Morris in the Chair.

All members in Glasgow and the district should do the same on Sunday, Dec. 19—bring their friends to St. Andrew's Hall at 7.30 p.m. to hear Rhys Davies, MP, Stuart Morris and myself.

Stuart Morris and I will also be in Newcastle on Thursday, Dec. 16 at the Connaught Hall, and in Edinburgh on Dec. 26 at Gogar Hall, St. Andrew's Square at 7.30 p.m.

The Manchester meeting is to take place on Jan. 24 instead of Jan. 25. Rhys Davies will be one of the speakers.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.